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## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

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1. First announcement

On 5 October the following item appeared in the Chung Yang Jih Pao, a newspaper owned by the Ministry of Information:

"The Municipal Government has decided to hold an election for Municipal Councillors on the 11th to the 14th of this month. 25 members will be chosen: 1 from each of the 18 districts, 2 from the Chamber of Commerce (Shanghai note: Commercial Union? See paragraph 2 j of this report), 2 from the Labor Unions, 1 from the Agricultural Association, and 1 from the Liberal Vocational Organization."

2. Answers made by local people to queries about the electionsa.) Political groups of the New 1 Army.

They knew there was going to be an election, but thought the local people knew nothing more than the newspaper announcements.

b.) In a coffee shop.

Only the literate persons had heard about the election, and they knew only what was in the papers. The ones who could not read knew nothing about the election.

c.) In a barber shop.

No one here knew about the elections.

d.) Officer in a Nationalist Guerrilla Unit.

This colonel stated that the people had no voice in the elections, which were controlled and conducted by the Changchun city government. Leaders of each district submit the names of people which each section desires as its representatives. The people of these districts are, however, in complete ignorance of the holding of elections.

e.) Theatrical personnel.

They expressed the opinion that they would find out no more about the elections until the "voting" was over.

f.) President of the Changchun Orphanage.

She knew nothing more than the newspaper account. Her daughter is a member of the "Women's Association" and stated that that organization had nothing to do with the elections.

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Extracted by F.I.R.

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g.) Customers and managers of hat shop, department store, grocery, and camera shop.

These persons had read the newspaper account, but did not expect to get any further details except from the newspapers. They stated that Changchun residents did not have any voting privileges because they did not know who were being nominated. Only certain leaders do the nominating.

h.) A journalist on the "Shang Pao" ( Shanghai note: This paper not previously identified.)

He stated his paper had received no details except an order to print an announcement that elections would be held from the 11th to the 15th. He did not expect any details until the 18th, when he might receive a list of those elected. The people, he said, would not have an opportunity to express their views until the end of the month.

i.) The Secretary-General of the Changchun Labor Union.

"This is the first time that a free election is to be held in Manchuria. The people, especially laborers, have not been sufficiently educated to make proper use of their right to vote. Upon being reminded by the Union of the importance of voting, a great many members of the Changchun Labor Union asked: 'Why?, What is this election for?, Why is there an election?, Will it do us any good?' To better such a situation, this union, which is cooperating with the Kuomintang, requested Kuomintang members to address groups of workers, explaining the meaning of democracy and the reason for elections. In this way the people are educated to some extent as to the meaning of democracy, the right to vote, and the importance of accepting the will of the majority even though the man of their choice is not elected. This union has 11 branches in Changchun and each branch nominated two or three candidates. There are at present a total of 30 men running for the City Council."

j.) Official of the Commercial Union.

He stated that each of the 79 branches of the union has selected two or three members as nominees. The list has been sent to the Mayor.

k.) Owner of a bookstore, a member of the above union.

He expressed a desire to see an official of the Commercial Union elected, because the latter was the only one of the candidates he had had contact with. He did not know any of the others.

l.) Waiter in a restaurant.

He said he didn't know anything about the election, since he couldn't read. He had heard people talking about it, but paid no attention, as he felt it did not concern him.

m.) Manager of a restaurant.

He stated this was the first time in China's history that a free election was being held, and that it was a great pity that people did not realize what it was about or take advantage of their right to vote. He felt that only educated people will exercise that privilege, and consequently that good representatives will be chosen.

n.) Pedestrians, coolies and ricksha men.

A summary of their opinions is that it is a good thing to vote for one's own representatives, but since they do not know what the qualifications of the candidates are, they are relying on the educated people to pick these representatives. Many are not voting because they trust the educated people to choose more wisely than they could. Many others are not voting because they do not care enough about it. The coolies say that they do not care who is elected so long as the man improves their living conditions.

o.) School teachers.

They felt that this was China's great opportunity, but that many people did not realize it. It would be their responsibility as educators to instruct their pupils about this great franchise.

p.) Several city officials.

They felt that many people would not take part in the elections because of lack of education and interest. They felt that they themselves, however, would be in a position to vote for good men because they had had experience in official life.

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g.) Laborers.

They said they did not know what the election was for, but listened to a few people who came to talk to them about it. They did not know who these people were. They felt that one of their foremen or union officials should be a candidate, as they would then know the candidate.

3. Early stages of the Election

On 15 October the Industrial and Commercial News, a publication of the Commercial Union, reported that LIANG Mou-hsun was elected representative of the 13th pao (Shanghai note: A pao is a district covering 100 families.). The election, it said, was not in accordance with democratic ideals, but was engineered by the district political organization. According to this paper, the above organization printed the ballots and distributed them to the people of the 13th pao. The ballot was 12 inches long by an inch wide, and LIANG's name was the only one on it.

b.) On 22 October, the Chung Yang Jih Pao announced that the number of councillors would be enlarged, because some districts were much larger than others and therefore should have more representatives. Five districts were each to elect another councillor, and another was to be elected by the vocational organization. This same article said that the list of candidates from the different districts and organizations had all been submitted to the Municipal Government for examination. The final election was scheduled for 27 October. 13 candidates from the Chamber of Commerce and 3 from the Labor Union had been disqualified by the Municipal Government and taken off the list.

(Reporting Officer note: From the above paragraph, it can be seen that the city government was controlling the elections. This is particularly shown by the change in election date.)

c.) On 23 October a Central News Agency report in the independent newspaper Hua Sheng Pao stated that the city government had published a list of 211 approved candidates for the council, and had given certifications of qualification to these candidates. Representatives of the Municipal Social Affairs Bureau were to supervise the election. A meeting of all candidates was scheduled for 25 October in the Municipal Hall "to discuss matters pertaining to the election."

4. The Elections

a.) There were said to be over 20 locations in the city where ballots were being counted. Source (Translator) visited a few of them. Two were in the City Administration Building. On the second floor, ballots for the representative from the Free Organization (Reporting Officer note: Probably the Liberal Vocational Organization) were being counted; on the fourth floor, ballots were being counted for the Agricultural Association representative. Organization officials were present in both places.

b.) School teachers' ballots were being counted at a school on Ta Ching Road. Balloting here was run in an orderly fashion.

c.) At the Labor Union there was much confusion and many arguments as to which candidates were up for election. Each unit within the union had its own man up for election. There were many arguments whenever a unit discovered that its candidate did not have a winning majority.

d.) Voting at the Commercial Union was smooth and orderly.

e.) At a voting place in one of the districts there was a great deal of confusion, mainly because many people who were ill or who lacked transportation had sent in their ballots by others. Section leaders and others present argued intensely in order to protect the interest of their candidates.

5. Conclusions

There was no evidence of political democracy in the elections for the municipal council on 27 October or in the elections for representatives to the National Assembly. The Municipal Government decided to hold the election.

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fixed and refixed the date, and supervised the voting. There was no evidence of active campaigning and no attempt to familiarize the people with the issues concerned and the qualifications of the candidates. Power of nomination of candidates did not rest with the people, but with previously organized groups who do not represent the will of the majority. There was little public interest in the elections, with groups which were articulate showing interest only in their own candidates with the ultimate aim of obtaining benefits for their particular organizations. In spite of control by the city government and ultimately by the Central Government, however, a certain amount of public disapproval of this procedure was voiced.

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